

# America

August 6, 1949

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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## The Federal-Aid Controversy

### Central issue in Federal aid

*Will Congress abandon its traditional policy of fair play?*

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

### The meaning of Andrew Jacobs

*The relevance of religion to American public life*

CLARENCE M. ZENS

### Religion and democracy

*"Democracy has no more loyal friend than religion"*

AN EDITORIAL

**EDITORIAL COMMENT:** *God's Underground*

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## A Canadian view

EDITOR: To get an intelligent, reasoned and advanced opinion on what is going on in the world I keep reading *AMERICA*. It is a Catholic opinion I am after, of course. But is not *AMERICA* getting morbid? Or is the world in such a state that any sane commentator must sound morbid?

With every page telling the awful doings of communism, and every second page retailing the miserable lethargy of Catholics as well as non-Catholics, and every third page explaining how the Catholics in the U. S. are being beaten about the head, there seems so little for *AMERICA* to be happy about. Yet there must be some things. *AMERICA* must offer hope to the world.

From *AMERICA* I, a Canadian interested in public affairs, learn what goes on at Washington. What I learn makes me realize why there is an apparent hopelessness—more apparent than real, I trust. How you manage to manage at all under such an amazing system of government is beyond me. You elect a Democratic Government and then the Republicans go ahead and introduce legislation, or lead legislation, or block legislation, or just generally mess things up.

When we in Canada elect a government we elect it to govern. The Liberals are in power now. They approximate your Democrats. They've been in office term after term because they govern well, and fairly—not sectionally, fairly. Only the party which has the majority, and is therefore the Government, can sponsor legislation of an effective nature. When a measure is introduced by the Government—not by individuals as in the United States—it is a Government bill and the Government passes it. There is an Opposition but, unless the Government party is terribly weak, the Opposition cannot completely hold up good legislation. Private bills may be introduced but they have no chance if the elected Government does not favor them.

It is all a straightforward, orderly process. The people get what they vote for. If they had wanted conservative legislation they would have voted for the Conservatives; if they had wanted socialistic legislation they would have voted socialist.

As I see it, the people of the United States vote for a liberal government but they get conservative legislation, or Southern legislation, or bits of liberal-conservative-socialistic-anti-Catholic legislation.

Maybe this is democracy. I'll take the Canadian sort. No wonder you are morbid. The world must look simply terrible with that forty-nine-ring circus going on in Washington all the time.

Toronto, Ont.

J. E. BELLIVEAU

## Protest by NAM

EDITOR: In the July 9 issue of *AMERICA* an editorial, "The NAM and Pius XII," states that the magazine *Understanding*, published by the National Association of Manufacturers, "misunderstands and distorts" an address the Pope gave before an international congress of employers on May 7. It was not the intention of the editors of *Understanding* to distort the facts.

Your editorial points out that the number of delegates to the Rome Congress was 1,000 instead of the 400 reported by *Understanding*. If such was the case, our error was the result of a misstatement in an AP dispatch from Rome. More important, the address was not deliberately cut by the editors of *Understanding*, as your editorial implies, so that there was no mention of the Pope's emphasis on "special duties." Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain the full text of the Pope's address at the time, and such passages as you cite were not available.

Also, I am afraid I cannot agree with your editorial that the Pope's phrase "free initiative" cannot be translated into "free enterprise" in view of the late Pope Pius XI's words that "free competition and . . . economic domination must be kept within just and definite limits, and must be brought under the effective control of the public authority." The real question is exactly what are "just and definite limits" that can be maintained without embracing socialism, which, said the Pope in his address to the congress, is not the key to economic progress.

I must also take exception to your description of *Understanding* as the NAM's "come-on" for clergymen. In fact, the magazine is devoted to promoting understanding between the clergy and industry, so that each may appreciate the positions and problems of the other. It has no other purpose.

MORGAN E. BROWNE, Editor  
New York, N. Y. *Understanding*

(In his address to the Catholic employers, the Holy Father merely restated the traditional teaching of the Church that the production and distribution of wealth are primarily the responsibility of private individuals and groups, not of the state. That is all "free initiative" means in the context. To suppose that the phrase is synonymous with "free enterprise" as the NAM uses the term, and an approval of it, is to ignore severe papal criticism of economic liberalism and excessive concentration of economic power. It ignores, too, papal recommendations for an organized economic community.—EDITOR)

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## "God's Underground"

We owe it to our readers and to the authors of *God's Underground* to moderate the criticism of the book which appeared in *AMERICA* for July 16. The imputation that the narrative might be the product of a "prevaricator" or of "the fertile imagination of the feature-story ghost writer" was harsh, and we withdraw it. After several conversations with Father George and Greta Palmer, we feel that there is no positive reason for doubting that Father George was in Moscow, a fact which was questioned. The phrase "as told to" Greta Palmer was used because that is what the book says, without any sinister implication. The charge that "Minute scrutiny reveals no single evidence of underground religion in *God's Underground* which was not reported seven years ago by Dr. Timasheff" and that, apart from what parallels Dr. Timasheff's book, "there is nothing of his own to prove that he ever was in contact with the underground religion except the remarkable system of codes and passwords" does not allow for other evidence in *God's Underground*, about the probative value of which opinions may vary. Regarding the parallelisms between Dr. Timasheff's book and *God's Underground*, we meant to raise pertinent questions without intending to make a formal judgment of plagiarism. Our opinion is that the book heavily taxes the credulity of the reader to start with. Signs of inaccuracy, carelessness and exaggeration, and what appears to us to be naïveté, weaken the credibility of the narrative.

## Witness No. 8

In order to assure his personal safety, no other designation than "Witness No. 8" could be given to an employee of the United Nations Secretariat who testified recently before a Senate judiciary subcommittee. According to this witness, the UN Secretariat is being terrorized by communist agents who compel non-communist employees to become their tools. He further alleged that this pro-Soviet pressure comes right "from the top" and that those who challenge it, as did "the Australian, Commander Jackson," are removed from office at the insistence of the Soviet members. The "top" of the UN Secretariat is the Secretary General—currently, Trygve Lie, who happens to be on vacation in his native Norway. Acting Secretary General Byron Price called the charges made by Witness No. 8 "the nuttiest story I have heard yet" and concluded by branding them as "fantastically untrue." Whom are we to believe? For two reasons, *AMERICA* will not try to answer this question. First, Acting Secretary General Price proved nothing, but merely asserted that the testimony is "nutty" and fantastically untrue. On the other hand, the evidence offered by Witness No. 8 has been kept secret for the time being. No conclusion can be drawn from data which remains underground. The curious reader, however, may wish to speculate a little on his own. For this purpose, it is in order to recount some pertinent information about the career of Trygve Lie in Norwegian politics, and the circumstance under which he was selected for the important post of UN Secretary General.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### Mr. Lie, past and present

Our account of Mr. Lie begins in the early 'twenties, when he was just a little wheel in the ultra-radical machine within the Norwegian Labor Party, one of the first organizations to affiliate itself in 1919 with the Communist International. By 1923 the Norwegian Labor Party got up enough courage to break away from the Comintern. Mr. Lie, however, kept up friendly relations with Soviet agents. In 1936, when he held the office of Minister of Justice, Mr. Lie speedily tossed Leon Trotsky out of Norway. At the first General Assembly of the UN (London, 1946), Stalin's representatives asked for the election of Mr. Lie by acclamation, even though the rules called for a secret vote. Then, when the Soviet delegates learned that a Canadian named Pearson might get the position of Secretary General, they threatened to take a walk. In the early days of the UN, representatives of the Western Powers were naive enough to believe that, if they gave in, the Russians would put away their vetoes and play clean. As Secretary General, Mr. Lie had the power to select all employees of the UN and to control its finances. He chose the Soviet official Sobolev as Assistant Secretary General of the all-important Security Council. After the generous fashion of Soviet democracy, this Russian emissary distributed the vital appointments under his charge to Stalin stooges from the "people's" governments behind the Iron Curtain. Our own *Daily Worker* was quick to praise Mr. Lie for his courageous selection of "progressive" personnel. When Mr. Lie visited Panama in January, 1947, the local communist group staged a "people's" rally in his honor. He found it necessary to skip a stop at Puerto Rico, because of projected communist ovations there. On the other hand, Mr. Lie's "pro-Western" sympathies in 1948 provoked loud censure from the Kremlin crowd. What all this adds up to is uncertain. The editors of *AMERICA*, however, cannot side with Mr. Price, whose bare assertions prove nothing. Nor can they accept as established the accusations made by Witness No. 8, whose evidence remains underground. Further Federal investigation would appear to be in order.

### Agreement in Indonesia

With the signing of an agreement between Republican and Federalist leaders at Jogjakarta, Java, on July 23, the Netherlands-Indonesian conflict, now almost four years old, moved another step towards final settlement.

The Republic agrees to enter into a federal union with the states of East and West Java, East and South Sumatra, and Madura. A provisional government will be set up while a constitution is being drafted for the new United States of Indonesia. The conference will reconvene July 30 to discuss the composition of the provisional government and financial and economic arrangements between the component states of the federation. Indonesian representatives were expected to meet with the Dutch at the Hague, August 1, to arrange for final transfer of sovereignty, but this meeting has been deferred. The Republic of Indonesia was declared August 17, 1945, for the whole Indonesian archipelago. A prime cause of strife between the Netherlands and the Republic was the setting up by the Dutch of autonomous states within the area claimed by the Republicans. The latter regarded the representatives of these states as mere creatures of the Dutch. It would seem, however, that a federation rather than a unitary republic is more in accord with the social and political realities of the situation.

### ***Rough road ahead***

The new government of Indonesia will not find the going easy. Participation in Marshall Plan aid will cease totally with the breaking away from Holland. The threat of communism will be sharpened by poor economic conditions. The Republic had to suppress a communist revolt at Madiun, central Java, in September, 1948. A prosperous Indonesia with a strong democratic government would be one more check to the communist drive that has engulfed much of China and will doubtless try to push southwest. The fight against communism is just as important in the Pacific area as in the Atlantic. President Truman's Point Four program should find a ready application in Indonesia.

### ***General price rise***

Egg and meat prices climbed a fraction recently in 53 U. S. cities. The consumers' price index issued on July 22 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor actually showed a general increase of 0.2 per cent from May 15 to June 15, attributable chiefly to higher food costs. Rents and fuels also rose, but the jumps were partly offset by drops in house furnishings, apparel, miscellaneous goods and fruits and vegetables. Clothing prices have been sliding downward for eight consecutive months. This consumers' price index of 169.6 (the 1939 index is taken as 100) remains just a mite be-

low what it was a year ago, but 27 per cent higher than in June, 1946, when Congress abolished price ceilings. Though three years have gone by, prices haven't "adjusted," as advocates of decontrol then predicted. Conditions may be a bit more tolerable in Memphis, Los Angeles and Seattle, the three cities without food-price rises in the May-June period. Farmers and truck gardeners, of course, may be squeezed now by lower income unless they grow onions and oranges or hens and beef herds, the prices of which remain high. Variations in retail price index are not so trivial as may appear, for they are based on the expenses of moderate-income families in large cities. With the income of workers falling—through reduced working hours and unemployment—many American families are suffering hardship because of the way prices are staying high. Meantime the rival economists debate bitterly: shall we increase wages, expand consumer purchasing power and take up the slack in employment? Can this be done without raising prices still higher? Or shall we continue to wait for the general price decline so long predicted without convincing signs of its early arrival? Industry must either raise wages without raising prices, or cut prices enough to put more goods within the reach of present incomes. So far neither policy seems to have been adopted.

### ***Greedy farm bloc***

Blunt-speaking Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Minister, surprised the House of Commons two weeks ago by blaming some of his country's troubles on the American "welfare state." What he had in mind primarily was our system of price supports for agricultural commodities, a most uncapitalistic device which has cost Britain millions of badly needed dollars. While our first impulse on reading Mr. Bevin's statement was to tell him off in the kind of language he loves, we decided on further reflection to let the sally pass unnoticed. There was enough truth in what he said to make rebuttal difficult. Now, after watching the House of Representatives deal with farm legislation last week, we are very happy that we had the good sense to remain silent. The barb in Mr. Bevin's statement was really sharper than he realized. Not merely did the House sidetrack the Brannan plan, which would have given urban consumers a break and made a bow of sorts to market prices; not only did it revoke the Hope-Aiken law, which was supposed to take effect January 1, 1950 and which provided for somewhat lower and more flexible supports than those now in effect; it actually voted to continue supporting farm prices, in the fifth year after the war, at the war-inflated level of ninety per cent of parity. Worse still—and this will make Mr. Bevin chuckle—it was the loud defenders of free enterprise in the House, the professional economy spokesmen, the adamant enemies of the "welfare state," who passed this legislation. The chief architects of the House bill were Republicans and Southern Democrats, and they did their work in the face of the strongest kind of opposition from the Administration. Should Mr. Bevin, the "Socialist," have a hard time finding any logic in the House's performance, we cannot in all honesty blame him.

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### **Political setback to the President**

If Mr. Bevin, the "Socialist," finds it difficult to understand U. S. farm policy, Mr. Bevin, the politician, should find it easy enough. The chief business of a politician, if he is out of office, is to get himself elected; if he is in office, to get himself reelected. This simple formula is complicated in American politics by the peculiar nature of the Democratic Party. That Party has come to have two wings, one representing the urban masses of the North, the other the entrenched classes of the South. The latter is conservative, the former—the dominant faction because it controls the Administration—liberal. As a result of this split personality the Democrats, even when they have a majority in Congress, cannot always pass legislation recommended by a Democratic President. The Southerners frequently desert the Party and vote with the Republican opposition. To put his Fair Deal program across, the President must therefore make deep inroads into normally Republican territory in the 1950 Congressional elections. He must win support among the farmers of Iowa, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and Illinois. In practice, this means effecting a coalition between farmers, who want high prices for their products, and urban workers, who want low-cost food. In the Brannan plan the Administration thought it had an answer to its problem. Secretary Brannan would permit prices of perishable products to find their own level, but without any loss to the farmer. The Government would make up with subsidies the difference between market prices and support prices. This ingenious scheme, had Congress approved it, might well have forged an unbreakable bond between farm organizations and trade unions and ensured another Truman triumph in 1950. So the Republicans, who don't want Truman, and the Southern Democrats, who don't want Truman's domestic program, joined hands to wreck the Brannan plan. They did even better. By placing a ninety-per-cent floor under farm prices, they went a long way toward helping the GOP regain in 1950 the farm support it lost to President Truman last year. Simple, Mr. Bevin, isn't it?

### **Plight of the longshoremen**

In an article which attracted nationwide attention, Rev. John M. Corridan, S.J., assistant director of the Xavier Labor School in Manhattan, wrote in *AMERICA*:

The longshoreman's work difficulty flows out of each company's policy of striving to build up a large labor reserve to meet the peak period of activity on its own piers. Peak periods are, too often, few and far between. There are always more men looking for work than there are jobs, and this holds good for every pier. The union leadership has made little effort to curtail the number of cards. So long as a man is willing to pay the initiation fee and keep up regular payment of his dues, he can join (11/20/48, p. 177).

This judgment has just been authoritatively confirmed. On July 22, New York City's Commissioner of Investigation, John M. Murtagh, who is in the midst of a searching investigation of the whole messy set-up on the docks, called on the International Longshoremen's Association

to close its membership books. Referring to the excess of workers, the Commissioner said:

Until this surplus is eliminated, we cannot hope to stabilize labor conditions and improve the lot of the longshoremen.

A few days later Joseph Ryan, ILA boss, conceded the truth of Mr. Murtagh's analysis but refused to close the union's books. He argued—and he may be right—that to do so would violate the Taft-Hartley Act and expose the union to charges of monopoly. We commend this case to the Senate's expert in labor law, Mr. Taft.

### **Colgate's conference on foreign affairs**

Said President Truman in his July 19 address to the Convention of Shriners in Chicago:

In this country, where the facts are readily available, we have a special obligation to inform ourselves concerning world affairs and important international issues. . . . Our foreign policy is founded upon an enlightened public opinion, whose formation is necessarily a slow process because the people must be given ample opportunity to discuss the issues and reach a reasoned conclusion.

Where and with whom can the ordinary citizen find the opportunity to learn the facts and discuss the issues? Colgate University at Hamilton, N. Y., gave one answer with its First Annual Conference on American Foreign Policy July 22-28. Over a hundred experts on every phase of our foreign policy were gathered, with the cooperation of the State Department, the Carnegie Endowment, the N. Y. State Adult Education Bureau, the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the N. Y. State Citizens' Council. Ordinary citizens, many of them leaders in their own communities, met and mingled and argued with State Department and United Nations officials, U. S. ambassadors, university professors, farm and labor leaders, churchmen and journalists, and heads of citizen organizations. Morning and afternoon round-tables, luncheon sessions and evening plenary sessions were devoted to exhaustive discussion of facts supplied by authorities. The Colgate Conference showed what can be done with equal amounts of imagination, initiative, self-sacrifice, cooperation and hard work. It was an experiment in public education which we would like to see repeated as successfully in every State of the Union.

### **Union turns salesman**

The Milwaukee *Journal* is authority for this one. Back in 1946 the officers and members of Local 407, UAW-CIO, decided that their jobs at the Unit Drop Forge Company, located in Wisconsin's hard-working metropolis, were no better than the orders on the company's books. Once this decision was made, the union took the next logical step. It approached management with the suggestion that maybe the union could do something about finding new business. Surprised and delighted, management offered the regular five-per-cent sales commission on all the jobs the men steered to the plant. Early this month, reported the *Journal* on July 3, this pioneer venture in cooperation began to pay off in a big way. The

union secured an order for \$45,000, with the possibility of another \$45,000 order to come. Everybody's happy over the success of the new "sales force." The company has work; the men have jobs; the stockholders have a dividend ahead. That is the kind of labor-management news AMERICA enjoys passing on to its readers.

### **What religion is for**

There are ample reasons to be for religion, many of them bad reasons. You can be for religion, for instance, because it brings peace of mind. That is making God a glorified, grandmotherly apothecary to personal psychic distress. Or you can be for religion because it helps social harmony. That reduces the idea of God to a convenient solvent of group antagonisms. The latter reason is becoming more frequently and fashionably urged by many who deem themselves religion's firmest friends. The energetic Mrs. Agnes Meyer, for example, in the August 2 issue of *Look*, presents her fellow Protestants with a program that calls for ignoring theological differences, suppressing institutionalism and working wholeheartedly to recover "a feeling of solidarity, of friendliness, of belonging to an orderly, meaningful world that is the prime need of our society." With Mrs. Meyer's contention that Catholics are creating "a society within a society" AMERICA has dealt before. With the reasons for her personal displeasure with Protestant church organizations, it would be improper for AMERICA to concern itself. With her notion that theology is trivial, that organization is something alien to religious purposes, that social betterment is religion's primary function, AMERICA has a concern. T. S. Eliot wrote in *Murder in the Cathedral*

The last step is the greatest treason

To be for the right thing for the wrong reason.

The speaker in Eliot's play is St. Thomas à Becket. Like every Christian, St. Thomas was mindful of the inevitable social implications of religion. He died, however, because he knew that religion is primarily a recognition of God, clearly understood, and of God's strict claims on man's obedience. The Saint died, too, for the freedom of an external, visible Church founded by God.

### **Communists use religion**

The communist governments of Europe have a clear idea of what religion is for. It is to organize popular support for a political regime. To teach the churches the true function of religion, bribes are offered and threats made. Zdenek Fierlinger, acting head of the Czechoslovak Government—while the President and Premier are in Moscow getting new instructions—told C. L. Sulzberger of the N. Y. *Times* on July 26 that, after all, the Prague Government is merely trying to modernize the religious situation. England had established a state church under Henry VIII in the sixteenth century, the apostate Social Democrat Fierlinger slyly observed. To politicize religion, the Czech Government organizes national pilgrimages under cabinet officials to historic Catholic shrines, creates a spurious clerical organization which it announces is alone the "responsible spokesman

for Catholics," engineers legislation giving the Government control of all priestly and episcopal appointments and announces that any acknowledgment of the spiritual sanction of ex-communication is "treason." Despite the threat of mass reprisals on their congregations the priests of Czechoslovakia stand firm; only 20 out of 7,000 or 8,000 have wavered in their allegiance. A circular secretly distributed to all the priests of the Prague archdiocese on July 23 exposed the forged signatures on the petition of the quisling Catholic Action organization. "Under pressure of our own consciences and of our priests' honor," the sponsors of the circular urged constant contact among the clergy "so that all of us may act unitedly and stand firmly and faithfully behind our bishops." Secretary of State Acheson pointed out the "tyrannist domination of religious organizations by the police state" of Czechoslovakia in a bluntly worded formal statement on July 20. In Paris the French Communist Party, Moscow's bellwether in the West, attempted to renew the policy of "the outstretched hand." Communism's hand is outstretched to seize religion's throat.

### **Spotlight on the Klan—and the South**

Are you puzzled by developments in the recent wave of floggings in an Alabama mining area? News reports sometimes concentrate on certain features and skip much of the background and evaluation. AMERICA called attention July 2 to a possible misinterpretation of these floggings. We then pointed to the isolated character of one outbreak—it took place almost completely in one county and in one part of that county. Some of the circumstances indicated a private attempt to reform public morals. Now it appears doubtful whether the Klan was officially connected with any beating. Such details imply, we think, no widespread revival of the Klan spirit. For several years the Klan has been struggling to make a come-back chiefly through the personal pushing of a few small-time but ambitious bigots in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida. Their call to enlist has won a weak response, and that mainly in the back country. The prompt and strong reaction which followed the hooded violence in the Birmingham area—some decades ago a hotbed of Klan growth—shows that the public is no longer sympathetic but is even antagonistic to a secret group now recognized officially as subversive. As Mr. John N. Popham, able correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, pointed out July 24:

The credit for this situation unquestionably goes to a splendid synchronization of vigorous leadership representing political, civic, patriotic, business, labor, veterans', religious and newspaper interests. The dovetailing of these forces in a common purpose is unprecedented in the annals of the South.

In Florida though, by way of contrast, Governor Fuller Warren called for a law against the Klan, but there was no rallying of public opinion by civic groups, and the law was not passed. In Atlanta, Georgia, the press and civic groups have been agitating against the Klan, but Governor Herman Talmadge refuses to move. Alabama has indicted the masked floggers and passed an anti-mask law. In that State a pattern of action has been found, and the liberal South will surely follow it.

## WASHINGTON FRONT

A number of Catholics, including Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Brien McMahon and J. Howard McGrath, and the distinguished U.S. Appeals Court judge, Harold M. Stephens, are being mentioned as possible successors to the late, humbly great Justice Frank Murphy.

But at least two views are put forward here on the question whether the appointment should go to a Catholic. One is that it is unwise to insist that this be the case—that although it may be desirable to have the various population groups represented on the Court, minority representation is only one factor. There might be times, some contend, when there would be no Catholic on the court; other times when earned distinction in law would place three Catholics there.

Some Catholics in government, friends of the President, dissent. They say, first, that it is simple political wisdom that a Catholic be named and, second and more important, that it is called for in simple justice to a group representing a sixth of the population.

As politicians, they observe that no President ever knows whether he will have an opportunity to appoint another justice to the Supreme Court. They raise a question as to whether the President might leave himself open to some criticism if a Catholic were not named. They recall that some Administration people were very conscious of the fact that, when Robert E. Hannegan retired as Postmaster-General, there was no Catholic in the Cabinet. That was changed later when Maurice Tobin, a former Governor of Massachusetts, was named Secretary of Labor.

Whether it is pleasant to consider or not, politicians in this country have long taken religious factors carefully into account. A so-called "balanced" ticket is an old story in the larger States, with attempts always being made to nominate for office a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew, so that all groups will be attracted. Often the Poles, Italians and other groups are wooed for their votes in the same way. Perhaps not without design has the Democratic national chairman for many years been a Catholic—James A. Farley, Edward J. Flynn, Frank Walker, Robert Hannegan, J. Howard McGrath.

But this is the U.S. Supreme Court, it is argued by some, and it should be above politics. The Court has lost prestige in recent years, they say, because political or personal factors, rather than the qualities that make a judge, have weighed too heavily.

Politics aside, others reply, issues are constantly coming before the Court in which it is not unreasonable to assert the right of presentation of a position based on a Catholic background and philosophy, such as labor, civil rights, public-school aid and many others.

Prevailing opinion is that Mr. Truman will name a Catholic. But he has crossed up the experts more than once.

CHARLES LUCEY.

## UNDERSCORINGS

The Catholic Intercontinental Press Correspondence (5 Beekman St., New York 7, N. Y.) notes July 23 that, according to the Prague Radio, the Czech Government granted 166,990 amnesties between June, 1948 and June, 1949. Assuming that half the prisoners in jail were released (quite a liberal assumption), this would put the Czech prison population at 333,980 persons. Czechoslovakia is a nation of some 12 million people. The United States has 145 million. The last published statistics (1946) give the U. S. prison population as 141,404. It seems to be easy to get jailed in Czechoslovakia.

► The Sacred Heart Program, originating daily from St. Louis University's radio station WEW and WEW-FM, is now carried by more than 600 stations throughout the world to an estimated 15 million listeners. It is heard over 478 U. S. stations in 46 States and the District of Columbia (Nevada and Utah unaccounted for), and 74 in Canada. Abroad, it can be heard in Rome, Australia, British Guiana, China, Cuba, India, Malaya, the Philippines, Okinawa and Malta, to mention only some of its foreign outlets. The program consists of 15 minutes of prayer, instruction and hymns. Information can be had from St. Louis University, St. Louis 8, Mo., or 300 Newbury St., Boston 15, Mass.

► As a result of Judge T. E. Hensly's decision that public-school classes in New Mexico could not be held in privately owned buildings (cf. AM. 3/26; 4/2), the town of Bernalillo (population 3,000) finds itself without a public high school and a boys' grade school. These schools are owned by the Sisters of Loretto, and have now become private schools. Other New Mexico cities may find themselves in the same plight.

► At the 11th annual convention of the Christian Brothers Education Association, held at Manhattan College, New York, July 20-23, Brother D. Vincent of LaSalle College, Philadelphia, reported on a survey he had conducted of "the moral life and practice" of Catholic college students. His conclusion was that their fundamental ideas were "good and right." About six hundred students were polled. More than 82 per cent never miss Sunday Mass, 80 per cent oppose birth control, 46.2 per cent would not, or prefer not to, marry a non-Catholic girl. Seniors had experienced a "big improvement" in regard to some practices of their faith.

► Our present immigration and naturalization laws in regard to Japanese are un-Christian and unwise, said the Rev. Everett Briggs, M.M., of Maryknoll College, Lakewood, N. J., before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. Our prestige and influence in the Far East are hurt by our policy of racial discrimination, he said. Father Briggs, who was testifying both for his own community and NCWC, was interned in Japan during the war. He is the author of the recently published *New Dawn Over Japan*.

C. K.



## Religion and democracy

The American people today are worked up over the issue of Federal aid to children attending parochial schools. The immediate issue seems on the surface to be of rather minor significance. It is whether Federal funds shall be used to provide incidental services, such as bus transportation, for parochial-school children. No question of asking the Federal Government to do more than this has arisen.

Many members of Congress are willing to let the States decide whether Federal funds shall benefit parochial-school children, even incidentally. Others, like Graham A. Barden, want to exclude these children from any Federal assistance by explicit provisions in the law. Catholic educators take a third position: they want Congress to make sure that Catholic children in every State get *some* benefit—only by way of incidental services—from the first general Federal-aid measure.

Catholics, in other words, feel that to deny to their children a share in such benefits, or to allow States to deny them, seems definitely unfair and discriminatory. Since the Supreme Court has ruled that public funds may be used for the purposes in question, we are anxious that Federal policy follow the lines of previous Federal education laws instead of starting out on a discriminatory basis.

At first glance one might wonder how so big a fire could flame up from so small a spark. Do our fellow-citizens really want to see little children trudging through the snow and rain, exposed to the hazards of the road, merely because they happen to be going to a Catholic school? We doubt it.

The opposition to Federal aid to our children springs from deeper causes and has a deeper meaning. The effect of such discrimination is to discourage religion and religious education in America. Have we arrived at a point where we feel, as a nation, that religion is unimportant? If so, we have made a grave decision. We have come to the conclusion that the survival of religious belief in this country is of no consequence to our national well-being.

This conclusion would be in direct conflict with many current legislative practices. Tax-exemption of religious institutions, our annual Thanksgiving Day, chaplaincies in the armed forces, the profession we make on our coins, "In God We Trust"—these and many other American customs are based on the assumption that religion is a good thing for America.

Our statesmen have repeatedly said so. George Washington laid special emphasis in his Farewell Address on the belief that "religion and morality are indispensable supports" of "political prosperity." President Roosevelt in his message to Congress of January 4, 1939, declared that of the "three institutions indispensable to Americans," the first was religion. He even put it ahead of democracy *because he maintained that religion is the source of democracy.*

No time could be more inappropriate than the present for being niggardly towards religious institutions. They are the bulwark against our greatest enemy—atheistic communism. If we cannot understand the connection be-

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tween religion and democratic freedom, let us learn from the Communists. They know, as their policy in Russia, in Hungary and in Czechoslovakia proves, that they cannot tyrannize over a religious people.

In the showdown between democracy and communism, democracy has no more loyal friend than religion. Bus transportation to religious schools is a very inexpensive way of showing that, at least, we do not wish to create unnecessary hardships for those who believe in religious education.

### Interim aid is enough

The Senate has ratified the North Atlantic Treaty by an overwhelming majority of 83-12, the President has signed it, and now committees of both Senate and House are dissecting the Military Assistance Program submitted on July 25. Never was an operation performed under more uncomfortable conditions. In Washington it's hot outside and inside the cramped and stuffy temporary quarters of both House and Senate, and Congressmen, understandably, are yearning for their air-conditioned vacations.

If the Administration was counting on those factors to influence Congress to pass the Act in its hurry to adjourn, it failed to reckon with Senators Vandenberg and Dulles, and with Representative Vorys (R., Ohio). They believe, as does this Review (AM., 4/2/49, "Only a Paper Pact?"), that the U.S. must give arms aid to its friends. They favor immediate aid to Greece, Turkey and Iran, and as much "interim aid" as our Atlantic allies will need between now and the next session of Congress. They suggest that during that interval the Council provided for in the Pact should work out the integrated economic and military program called for in Article 9. Then Congress can judge more accurately what is actually needed. Article 9 of the Treaty reads:

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5 [effective self-help and mutual aid to enable the Parties to resist attacks on any or all members].

The Republican foreign-policy experts seem to have logic on their side. How can you implement a strategic plan that has not yet been devised? They also have the admission of the State Department that only ten per cent of the aid could be made available by April 1, 1950.



Why not, then, authorize essential stop-gap aid for the present, and wait until the Council, scheduled to meet in mid-September, works out the over-all strategic plan for the alliance, and determines the nature, number and allocation of arms needed to implement that plan?

Our authorities, it is true, already know what arms our allies want. The question is, what arms do they actually need? Why not defer final action on the last eighteen months of the program until the Atlantic Council decides? We suggest two further reasons in favor of deferment.

Senator Vandenberg hinted at our first reason when he said that "[The MAP's] statement of policy puts too much emphasis on arms." Article 2 of the Pact says in part: "[The Parties] will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them." To date, Britain and the European Parties can scarcely be said to have begun to carry out that commitment. Their need for our military aid flows from their economic weakness, which derives, at least in part, from their unwillingness to abandon their economic nationalism. The U. S. should be able to go into the September Council meeting with some means of making a last attempt to persuade them to make greater efforts in that direction.

What we may call the absent atom provides the second reason for postponing final action on the arms program. The atomic bomb is expressly ruled out of the aid proposals, but it cannot be ruled out of the strategic planning of the Council. In fact, the London *Economist* for July 23 sees the problem of how the atom bomb fits into the defense plans of the allies as the "first real test of the Atlantic Pact."

The final formulation of the strategic plan of the Atlantic allies must wait upon the resolution of the current differences between Britain and the United States over the atom bomb. What would happen if Britain should prevail on us to give her, or help her make, atomic bombs? What if, in the event of our refusal, she produced her own? The whole strategic plan might have to be redesigned. We raise these points to show how immensely complex our new situation is. Congress must have time to adjust itself to that situation.

## Russia's slave labor

On July 22 the British Government released what it claims to be the official text of Russian laws governing forced labor. The fact that there are vast hordes of slave laborers in the USSR has long been an open secret—it was the subject, for example, of a devastating study by David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky in 1947, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* (Yale University Press). But the official laws governing the inhuman practice have never before been published in English or French. It has therefore been possible for the Russians to keep the outside world largely in the dark as to whether slave labor had the explicit sanction of official policy or was simply winked at.

That ambiguity is now dissipated. It is the set purpose of the USSR to herd millions into the labor camps. The ten million slaves soberly estimated in the British release (one-tenth of the country's total labor force) prove how thoroughly Russia realizes that purpose. And the text of the document is a cold-blooded and detailed blueprint of how that purpose is realized.

The Soviet law states the "basic proposition" of its penal policy. It is "the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction being carried out by it against the encroachments by class-hostile elements and infringements, not only on the part of *declassé* elements, but also of unstable elements among the workers." This "basic proposition" aims to place condemned persons in "conditions which debar them from the possibility of committing acts which inflict harm on the socialist construction," and to re-educate them toward "socially useful ends."

Three types of slave labor are at hand to enforce these ends. There is "corrective labor without deprivation of freedom," "deprivation of freedom," and "exile combined with corrective labor." The degree of punishment is determined by "the labor habits" of the condemned, by "their degree of class dangerousness, their social position and the success with which they are being corrected." Finally, a person may be condemned to any of the three punishments merely by "decree of an administrative organ," that is, by any branch of Soviet bureaucracy, with no recourse to court proceedings.

Other elements of the law have to do with camp facilities, wages, etc. The above excerpts from the text, however, are sufficient to reveal the basic injustice and brutality of the USSR penal policy.

It flouts the very concept of justice because it subordinates "punishment" to political ends. A man is deprived of liberty simply because he may have said that he does not agree that Stalin is always right. Under this system, millions in the United States could be clapped into jail because they opposed the Administration-backed Brannan farm plan. Such justice is the absolute denial of the democratic ideal.

Further, the Russian policy is starkly brutal, for these millions of slave toilers are being unjustly recruited simply to provide cheap labor on a huge scale. How vast the scale and how degrading the labor have been revealed by witnesses who have escaped their horrors. Indeed, not even the labor camps tell the whole story. It seems that the same ruthless policy of political punishment and economic slavery lies behind the recently reported large-scale deportations of Balts and others along Russia's borders.

The British have undoubtedly released this document at this time to strengthen the demand made by the UN Economic and Social Council for a world-wide and non-political investigation of slavery. It is extremely doubtful that even this move will persuade Russia to agree to any investigation within its own boundaries.

But the revelation of Russia's official slave policy can have one good effect. If Dr. Toynbee's thesis, discussed elsewhere on these pages, is correct—namely, that under Providence the USSR exists as a challenge to the demo-

cratic world to live its principles—then the horror of Russia's slave camps will spur us to honor our principles concerning every person's inalienable right to liberty. Russia's ten million slaves will help make us rightfully ashamed of even one case of slavery, of discrimination, of bias or bigotry in a land professing and, thank God, by and large living up to, the principles of democratic freedom.

## ***Toynbee on the cold war***

In one of the wisest and most heartening articles we have read in a long time, appearing in the August *Woman's Home Companion*, the distinguished English historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, gives a perspective to the "cold war" with Soviet Russia which all of us badly need.

Confident that a third world war is unlikely, because "Russia would be at an enormous disadvantage," Professor Toynbee is intent on searching out the wider significance of the "cold war." He finds it, as we might expect from a truly great historian, in Providence, which is using the Russians to stimulate us to do things which up till now we have neglected. Our main objective, he says, must be "to go on extending to the whole of society the material and spiritual benefits already enjoyed by the middle class." He is certain that communism cannot stand the competition of social justice.

There is danger, however, that we may permit the communist challenge to deflect us from our ideals into the ways of violence. And what are our ideals?

The distinctive feature of our western philosophy of social progress is our belief that a humane and Christian end ought to be pursued by humane and Christian means. Good will toward underprivileged sections of the community is ill served, we believe, by vindictiveness toward privileged sections. Our aim is to make our common life better for all without making life impossible for any.

Becoming more specific, Professor Toynbee believes that we can provide a better life for the majority "partly out of the general increase in our wealth resulting from our continuing advances in technology." But this will not be enough. We shall have to make adjustments (in the distribution of income?) requiring considerable sacrifices from a minority. "And," remarks the shrewd Professor, "this minority, being human, is always likely to be conservative-minded about social reforms that have to be made somewhat at its expense."

That is where Soviet Russia comes in. The threat it carries to the well-to-do will keep them from slowing down social change "to an unwarrantably sluggish rate." After all, if the Russians win the cold war, the minority stands to lose everything.

Those who have been saddened by the struggle into which Soviet Russia has forced the Western world will be cheered by Toynbee's sanguine conclusion:

If we take the opportunity, the future lies in our hands. We shall create a social and spiritual climate in the world which eventually, in a rather undramatic and gradual way, will make one world—not in our lifetime, but in the lifetime perhaps of our children or our grandchildren.

If communism, then, is not the scourge of a Christian civilization gone flabby, it is at least a goad urging it on to higher things. For placing this Christian and Providential view of current history before them, Professor Toynbee has deserved well of his readers.

## ***Are we morbid?***

A Canadian correspondent very urbanely proffers us this week a nice nosegay of orchids. This nosegay contains a small brickbat. Our Canadian friend says: "Is not AMERICA getting morbid? . . . There seems so little for AMERICA to be happy about. Yet there must be some things. AMERICA must offer hope to the world."

You must take our word for it that the Editors are personally a fairly cheerful group. There are no long faces on the staff and, if the impression is given that we think all is wrong with the world, it's the last thing we intend. Perhaps the impression arises from a failure to distinguish between morbidity and criticism. We are critical of a great deal that goes on in the world, at home and abroad, but we are not hopeless about it. Our criticism, we believe, is based on optimism.

We believe that our American system of government (which gives our Canadian friend occasion to feel that we have good reason for *some* morbidity) has within itself the virtue to correct the abuses of partisanship, sectionalism and obstructionism. We believe that errors in judicial decisions and in congressional thinking (as in the case of Federal aid to education) can be set right by enlightened public opinion. We believe that the ills of the social order can find their cure in the application of the principles of a sound social philosophy, such as is embodied in the great papal encyclicals. We believe that labor and management can work together as partners for the common good. We believe that criticism can raise the standards of taste and decency in literature and the arts. If we had no hope, we would not argue so hard for the correction of evils. Our approach is positive and optimistic, it seems to us, and not at all tinged with morbidity.

In the field of international relations, we have supported a firm, positive and consistent policy in the solid hope that the United Nations, the Marshall Plan and now the Atlantic Pact will block communist aggression and promote European and world recovery. We believe that even the persecution of millions of our fellow-Catholics, heart-breaking as it now is, is the means by which a renewed spirit of Christianity will repel the threat of modern militant godlessness.

True, as we talk of these problems week after week, we may give the impression that the world is indeed in a sorry state. But the content of what we say is based on the Christian virtue of hope. If it were not, we would be false to our claim to be a *Catholic* journal of opinion.

No, criticism is not necessarily morbid. After all, when a man rings a fire alarm, he is being critical of the fact that there is a fire. But he is not morbid. He is hopeful. The very fact that he rings the alarm proves that he hopes the fire can be put out.

# Central issue in Federal aid

Robert C. Hartnett

IN THE CONTROVERSY over Federal aid to education, the central issue must be kept free of obscurity. What is this issue? It is whether the *first* general aid-to-education bill adopted by the Federal Government is to conform to previous *non-discriminatory* Federal policy in the field of education, or is to fall into the discriminatory pattern of many of the States.

Let us examine the facts:

1) Previous Federal educational policy has been non-discriminatory. The ROTC program was always available to non-public as well as public colleges. The NYA student-assistance program of 1935 made no distinction between the needs of students in public and non-public schools. The GI bill of rights enabled veterans to attend any school of their choice. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 provided for the schooling of pages in Congress, either in public or non-public (including parochial) schools, at Federal expense. The School Lunch Act of 1946, since renewed, extended its benefits to all children in all schools.

This Act contained a notable formula. It provided that if a State wished to share in the Federal grant, it had to allow the benefits to go to all children. If State law prohibited the matching of State funds to provide free lunches to children in parochial schools, the Federal administrator had to channel Federal funds *directly* to parochial-school children. In the School Lunch Act, in other words, Congress refused to introduce into the Federal system the discriminatory practices of many State systems.

Congress, in appropriating Federal funds, laid down the clear rules under which such funds were to be apportioned, and it made non-discrimination our national educational policy in regard to incidental public-welfare benefits. As a result, twenty States today cooperate with the Federal Government in disbursing matched funds for lunches to children in parochial as well as public schools. In twenty-eight States the authorities have directed the Federal Government to apply Federal funds to parochial-school children by direct Federal Action.

This is the clear record of Federal legislation so far. Congress has not only refused to discriminate but has refused to allow States to impose a discriminatory policy when they are using Federal funds.

2) What "benefits" are concerned in the present controversy? There is no question of general Federal support of parochial schools. All that is concerned is incidental public-welfare benefits, which fall into three types: reimbursement of parents for extraordinary expenses involved in bus transportation to and from school, as in rural districts; free non-religious textbooks; and health services. In about nineteen States it is now per-

*What, exactly, do Catholics ask of the first general Federal-aid-to-education bill—and why? How many bills are now under consideration, and what does each propose? In view of the charges and countercharges being voiced in Congress and in the press, AMERICA'S Editor reviews the various bills in the light of American tradition and the welfare of American children.*

missible to use State funds for the transportation of children to parochial schools. Only a few States provide free non-religious textbooks.

3) Such incidental benefits as bus transportation and free textbooks have been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. No case involving the School Lunch Act or other health services has arisen. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has only muddled the waters by raising the issue of "separation of Church and State" in her syndicated column for June 23. The Supreme Court has decided that public funds may be used for incidental public-welfare services to children in parochial schools without "violating" the so-called principle of "separation of Church and State."

4) What is the Catholic position on Federal aid to education? We contend that in its first general aid-to-education measure, Congress should follow our traditional national policy of non-discrimination in so far as incidental services are concerned. Congress should apply to all such public-welfare services the mandatory formula of the School Lunch Act of 1946, which has worked out well. In appropriating Federal funds for the first time in a general aid-to-education law, it should require that part of the funds be used to supply to children in parochial and other private schools the same incidental services supplied to children attending public schools. This is all we are asking.

## CURRENT PROPOSALS

The \$300-million general aid-to-education bill passed by the Senate (the Thomas bill) departs from traditional Federal policy by letting the States decide whether or not they will withhold Federal funds for transportation, textbooks and health aids from parochial-school children. More than half the States have shown their readiness to deprive parochial-school children of any share in public funds, even for incidental services. We vigorously object to this surrender of the Federal policy of non-discrimination by letting States use Federal funds in a discriminatory way. This is the central issue in the Federal-aid controversy. A great many people, both in Congress and out of it, seem not to understand it.

We are told that the Thomas bill is a "States Rights" bill, and that we should "fight it out in the States." Our reply is that this is a Federal-aid bill, and we are going to fight it out in Congress, where Federal policies are shaped. We want Congress to stick to its previous policy of non-discrimination instead of letting discrimination enter into Federal policy through the back door of the States.

The \$35-million school-health bill passed by the Senate



(another Thomas bill) satisfies us, as far as health services are concerned, because it uses the same formula as the School Lunch Act. What we want is a general-aid bill, in place of the Thomas general-aid bill, which applies this same formula to *all* incidental services, not merely to health.

The Federal policy for which we are contending is simple, just, constitutional and consistent. No one—least of all Mrs. Roosevelt—has suggested why Congress should not adopt it.

The subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Education, presided over by Graham A. Barden (D., N. C.), refused to go along with even the Senate general-aid bill. Instead, Mr. Barden got the approval of his subcommittee, by a vote of 10-3, for a much more offensive bill. The Barden bill (AM. 7/9. p. 417) would authorize the allocation of \$300 million of Federal funds for aid to education. But it limits the use of the funds to "public elementary and secondary schools" and specifically prohibits the use of such funds for transportation—the only purpose of the bill in which parochial-school children might stand a chance of sharing, except for textbooks in a few States.

The Barden bill, in other words, would not allow a State to use Federal funds for the transportation of parochial-school children, even if the State wanted so to use them. It is even more discriminatory than many State laws, which, in general, are certainly discriminatory enough. It completely reverses previous Federal educational policy. No wonder it has aroused the ire of Catholics. At the moment of writing, the full House Committee on Labor and Education has refused to report out the Barden bill. Republican members, most of whom seem to oppose all Federal-aid proposals, have joined forces with Catholics on the Committee to bottle it up.

## The meaning of Andrew Jacobs

Clarence M. Zens

IN THE FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION controversy, one Congressman in particular has received wide notice because he represents a split in the supposedly solid Catholic camp. But AMERICA, in a recent editorial, hinted that this man is an indication not so much of a split as of a task of enlightenment which remains to be done. The point is well taken. It deserves underlining and restatement.

I was shown into the high-ceilinged, musty room in the old House Office Building, and advanced past a row of ancient file cases and an array of overstuffed furniture to a spot before the bulky desk. The occupant rose to greet me—a rough-hewn, vigorous-looking man with an earnest but friendly manner.

There is talk of a "compromise" by which J. Percy Priest (D., Tenn.), chairman of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, will gain approval in his subcommittee of a school-health bill modeled on the Senate school-health bill. This bill would then be presented to the full Commerce Committee and, if approved, would be offered as a sop to Catholics. The anomaly of a school-health bill being born in the Commerce Committee is explained by the fact that the Democratic leadership would like to get the House school-health bill reported out of committee before the Labor and Education Committee reports out an unsatisfactory general-aid bill.

One can sympathize with the many political embarrassments confronting the Democratic leadership. But they might just as well recognize that this strategy of trying to make the House look as reasonable as the Senate is not very promising. We don't like the Senate general-aid bill, and aren't going to like a patched-up House counterpart any better.

What we want is the Fogarty bill, which *requires* that 10 per cent of the \$300 million general-aid funds be spent on incidental services in which parochial-school children must share on the basis of the School Lunch Act formula. This is the only bill which preserves the non-discriminatory Federal policy in education which Congress has consistently followed up to now.

### CONCLUSION

Our position is clear and reasonable. There is just one more observation to make: why cannot Congress see the inconsistency of spending billions to defeat communism abroad while withholding Federal funds from the strongest bulwark against communism at home—religious education? Has anyone in Washington thought of that?

*"The issue is clear," says Congressman Andrew Jacobs, speaking of Federal aid to private schools. "Either you keep parochial schools and maintain them or take public funds and convert them into public schools." But is Mr. Jacobs himself clear about the issue? Clarence M. Zens, of NC News Service, points out the flaws in the Congressman's reasoning.*

If I had any expectations of soothing congressional double-talk, Representative Andrew Jacobs of Indiana put them quickly out of mind. Yes, he said forthrightly in answer to my opening question, he was now on the record in the school-aid controversy, and was not sorry.

He explained that his declaration—which Drew Pearson and others had seized upon—was in reply to the campaign being waged on Federal aid by his diocesan paper, the *Indiana Catholic and Record* of Indianapolis. He bent down, opened a drawer in his files, and came up with a batch of clippings from that paper. Catholics were being asked to write him with regard to his position on inclusion of parochial-school pupils in Federal-aid legislation; he wanted to make his position clear.



He explained further that Mr. Sims, his colleague on the House Education and Labor Committee, knowing that he was preparing such a statement, had asked for a copy. It was Mr. Sims who considered the statement of interest to the general public and who had passed it on to the ever-receptive Mr. Pearson.

I asked Mr. Jacobs if he thought the few paragraphs which Mr. Pearson had winnowed from his four-page declaration on the subject represented a fair summary of his position.

The columnist had chosen first a thought from the second page:

As long as we have the same right to send our children to public schools as anyone else we are not discriminated against, and as Catholics we do not have a right to a separate publicly-supported school system, nor does any other group of people have such right.

Then followed two selections from the first page:

Whatever can be constitutionally done to aid a child will win my support. However, I cannot and will not support any measure that grants public financial aid to private or parochial schools.

We have the right to build and maintain our churches but not to build or maintain them with public funds. Our parochial schools are an adjunct of our religion, established for educational use instead of using public schools, solely for the sake of the child's religious training.

Mr. Jacobs' conclusion, as reported by Pearson, was:

The issue is clear. Either you keep parochial schools and maintain them or take public funds and convert them into public schools, and they will then no longer serve the religious purpose for which they were established.

The Congressman agreed readily that such was the gist of his views. However, he said, to amplify his remark on aid to the child, another paragraph might be taken from his full statement:

We must distinguish between aid to the individual child and aid to the parochial school. For example, the hot-lunch program is available to all children, including those in parochial schools. Already passed in the Senate is a health bill for all children. These benefits are to go to the child and are not directly connected with his teachings. I would deem standard approved secular textbooks in the same category, as well as the right to ride a school bus upon a scheduled route. Establishment of a separate or special school bus for the parochial school would, in my judgment, violate the principles hereinafter stated.

Reading the last, I remarked that such aids to all children, public and parochial, were among the benefits included in a Federal-aid bill proposed by Congressman Fogarty of Rhode Island. This bill has been praised by the Catholic spokesman with whom Mr. Jacobs was reported to be at odds.

Mr. Jacobs, however, started to make his real position clear by disavowing any support for the Fogarty measure. Such a bill, he said, was, after all, primarily a general school-aid bill, even though it did contain some services-for-all-children provisions. And that, he stressed, was precisely the rub. The Fogarty bill, despite its distinctions, would be regarded as a measure to aid both

public and parochial schools. Aid to the individual child was fine, he said, where it could plainly be seen to be aid to the child. But aid to the child which could be construed as aid to the child's schooling or "indoctrination"—that would be wrong.

The Congressman unfolded his educational philosophy, speaking with assurance and sometimes with vehemence. I got the impression that he had gone over the ground many times. The ground included the McCollum decision, the First Amendment, the relations between Church and State, the place of religion in society. From his conversation I inferred that while Mr. Jacobs believed religion indispensable for the individual he did not consider it necessary as a groundwork of justice in a political order. The American government was founded, according to his view, not upon the principles which were peculiarly Christian, but upon the "immutable natural law," recog-

nized by Buddhists, Indians, Mohammedans and many other groups in addition to Christians. In America, a citizen did not have to be a believer at all; it was sufficient to the working of our governmental sanctions that he be simply a rational man.

Thus, he argued, the state



did not depend on the church; and the church, in turn, should not depend on the state.

Mr. Jacobs expressed full agreement with the McCollum decision, and its promise that the "wall of separation" between church and state would be kept high and impregnable.

When I sought to challenge the existence of actual separation, he responded, with a wave of his hand at the Capitol across the street: "Yes, I know that we have such things as a chaplain who reads a prayer every day in the House. But actually if there were an atheist among the members he could have that practice stopped, under the Constitution." He stopped a minute, to let this sink in, and then smiled. "Of course, what would happen then would be that everyone would shout the atheist down and tell him to quit making a fool of himself." He went on to explain that the chaplains in Congress, and those in the armed services, and other isolated instances of tax-aid to church groups, were exceptions to the proved rule. Our solidly American policy—he applauded it with every inflection—was that government could and should keep its hands off religion.

As we moved into the give-and-take period of the interview, I thus found it futile, in view of Mr. Jacobs' basic premise that religion has no discernible role in man's political life, to propose that our parochial schools deserve some recognition in any Federal-aid-to-education bill because they, no less than the public schools, exist to train citizens and so perform a service to the public. Nonsense! he answered quickly. They exist to train Catholics, which is a private rather than a public service; they deserve no more from government than the permission to operate—and this they have.

I contended that the right of parents to choose between schools is endangered unless the state stands ready to aid parents regardless of whether they choose a public or parochial school. Mr. Jacobs brushed that aside with an analogy: "The state gives me the right to use its roads. Do you want the state to fill my gas tank?" Devastating! Of course, you had to assume with the Congressman that the car's journey was for a private purpose, and you had especially to accept the key assumption: that the roads—the charting and aiming of education—belonged really to the state. I don't know whether Mr. Jacobs intended his figure to cover the whole field of parents' rights in education as against government's rights, but his attitude seemed to be that it answered all the questions worth asking here. He presented it with such force and finality, in fact, that it wasn't until later that I took a close look at his analogy and rearranged it into its true terms. The state 1) through its compulsory school laws, fills the tank and starts the motor in each parent's car; 2) acknowledges the parent's part in the direction of education by permitting travel over a sufficiently broad area; but 3) immediately makes a mockery of that acknowledgment by building a smooth highway along one chosen path, marking all the other paths "Travel at Your Own Risk."

So the interview went. Mr. Jacobs was impressively charitable, sincere and direct, once you agreed with his basic principles on the relationship of government to education, and the extent of religion's role in society. He made an earnest and not at all condescending plea to the Catholic people to "go easy" in the school-aid controversy. "Let's be sensible," was his keynote. As we parted, he expressed deep regret that a division of opinion—more than that, of feeling—had been opened in America on an issue which touched religion. "We all know that an argument over religion is bound to become inflammatory," he concluded.

I walked down the marble corridor of the House Office Building, tucking away the "special statement to Catholics" which had been placed in newspapers across the land as evidence that Catholics were split on the Federal-aid question. The evidence was incontrovertible. But it seemed to me, reflecting on what Representative Andrew Jacobs had said, what he did not say, and what his whole attitude showed, that the newspapermen who quoted that statement had caught only a small part of the testimony of the Congressman from Indiana. Is not this what Mr. Jacobs really means to us:

We can hoist our banners, create slogans, stir religious loyalties, and build enormous political pressure—and win votes in Washington in 1949. But in itself that will only buy us time, because the legislative fight over Federal aid to our nation's schools is only a skirmish. The real battleground is not on Capitol Hill, but in the minds of individuals like Andrew Jacobs, and hundreds of thousands like him among American Catholics, and millions more like him in the general American community. The real objective is not a few dollars of Federal money, but the acceptance by all United States citizens of true principles in education and in government. The immediate

need, then—and who dramatizes it better than Andrew Jacobs?—is for a driving, appealing logic that will properly and sharply define the issues involved in the Federal-aid question.

Mr. Jacobs says: "The issue is clear. Either you keep parochial schools and maintain them or take public funds and convert them into public schools, and they will then no longer serve the religious purpose for which they were established." That's beautifully simple, and anyone can understand it. The task then for our skilled political scientists and educational thinkers is to show—in terms just as simple and understandable—that "the issue is clear," but not the way Mr. Jacobs puts it. Let them show the Congressman from Indiana and those in his camp that their stark either-or proposition does not provide the answer to such issues as these:

1. The rights of parents. Does not the restriction of tax aid to one type of school amount to an economic strangulation of the right of parents to choose between schools? Do parents really have a prior right in education? If government steps into education to provide assistance to parents rather than to take over the job of educating the child, is it helping all parents when it says "We'll give you aid if you take this kind of school. Take it or leave it"?

2. The place of the private school in a democracy. Is the policy of channeling all state help to public schools to lead to the extinction of other kinds of schools? Take the parent who believes that a school curriculum colored throughout by religion produces the best citizens. Isn't he repudiated when his government refuses to help him in education, and thus implies that it considers the public schools, where religion is not central to the course of study, to be the best training-ground for citizens?

3. The question of justice. Are the public schools the only schools which render service to the public? Or do parochial and other private schools, which also train citizens, have a claim to that designation also? Why do only the public schools merit tax support?

4. The matter of religious liberty. Religion is a part of the whole of human experience and thus unavoidably a part of the subject matter of education. The state, by helping only the public schools, indicates its preference for a school curriculum which handles religion in a certain way, i.e., regards all religions as equal. Does this not cast the state in the role of theologian? Is this not a violation of the religious freedom of those who hold that religions are not equal?

It will be a bitterly difficult task to get Andrew Jacobs and like-minded Americans to come out from behind the protection of their either-or position and admit the validity of these deep and wracking questions. An easy way out is to say that they are locked up in bastions of bigotry, ill will or ignorance, and cannot be persuaded by any means. But if Andrew Jacobs is any criterion, they are reachable. Moreover, they must be reached. So, to our best minds in political science and educational philosophy we say: "Here's Mr. Jacobs. He is approachable, intelligent and possessed of good will. We need him. Give him light."

# Athletics in the grade school

John F. Henry

MOST GRADE-SCHOOL CHILDREN look upon the class-room session as a mild form of incarceration. They greet recess and the dismissal at the end of the day with a "hoop-la" heard a block away. And, to be honest, does not the average teacher, even a sister, teaching brother or priest, greet the end of a school day with a distinct sense of relief? Whatever can be inserted into the program, curricular or extra-curricular, to make the school a happy place for the child, to make the school day a day he won't want to miss, that item is certainly worthy of consideration, provided, of course, it is not harmful in itself. Children who like school learn more quickly, are easier to handle in and out of school, and absorb the moral, mental and physical training more readily.

An athletic program in a parochial school can do just that, can make school so attractive that the children do not want to miss the fun. Of course, this will not apply to every single student. There will always be those who will not respond to any program offered, whether it be spiritual, intellectual, athletic, social or what have you.

The parish from which the writer draws his experience is located in a high-class residential section in one of our large industrial cities. The parochial school has an enrollment of about a thousand. In course of time, the pastor and many of the parishioners active in parish affairs became definitely convinced that the children needed more than the four R's (counting religion) to round out their education and to make of them the best possible citizens of this world and the next. The fifth R was the recreational program. A parish committee appointed to discover ways and means of putting the program into effect sponsored a "Men's Party" for the purpose of centering the parishioners' attention on the project and raising funds. The party met with a generous response, and without delay coaches were hired for the boys, and women recreational leaders for the girls.

Year after year the program was improved, until the school year of 1948-1949 saw what might be called the pay-off. This came in the form of a City Championship Grade School Football Team, a very successful intramural basketball tournament in which twelve teams competed, and the establishment of an annual "Gym Night" at which the final intramural basketball games were played, championship boxing and wrestling matches staged, and class-room and individual trophies awarded.

A few words about the football team. As soon as it became quite probable that the team was headed for the city championship (in competition with some fifty other teams), it seemed that every student in the school (and we mean about 99 per cent) from the first grade up,

began to look upon *their school* as the big boast of their lives. Since both the metropolitan and the neighborhood papers carried frequent articles and pictures, the adults in the parish, especially the parents of the school children, were almost to a man (and woman) on the bandwagon. The sisters teaching in the school, who excitedly witnessed one of the play-off games on television, were enthusiastic and proud. In other words, this little bit of grade-school athletics crystalized the latent school spirit and made it a powerful force for good from September to Christmas. Nothing would do at the end of the season, in late November, but that the men of the parish must put on a "Victory Banquet," which about two hundred and fifty paid to attend.

"So what?" we hear someone say. "Any school might have a championship team in some particular year, with the same results you mention. But what about the effect on the boys and girls suddenly hoisted to these dizzy heights, and that in grade school? Did they not become too big for the class room and for the teacher?" Some did show signs of this *after* the season was over. During season, however, as soon as a head began to swell, the priest director of athletics and the coaches had a quick and effective method of reducing the size of the head's perimeter. When the coach gives an order, the boy either obeys or gets out and lets someone else do it. He learns there is such a thing as obedience the *first* time a command is given. And after the season there are other legitimate methods of reducing the size of the hat-band.

While football gives the school year a fine "curtain raiser," it is only one feature in the grade-school program. We have basketball, wrestling, boxing, baseball and soft ball for the boys, and volley ball, basketball, field hockey, soft ball, ping pong and other activities for the girls. One of the big nights of the year is "Gym Night," held about the middle of March, when the finals of the intramural basketball tournament are played. Boxing and wrestling matches also highlight the evening. For the winners we have trophies for classrooms, and medals and watch charms for individuals. Last year the school had twelve teams in the intramural basketball league, beginning with the fifth grade. These groups choose their own team names, the names being restricted to Catholic colleges or universities. They also provide their own uniforms.

Along with the athletic program, a social program is worked out on the grade-school level. The school and the parish church are made the center of the whole life of the students—spiritual, intellectual, athletic, recreational and social. Wholesome recreation is joined to Catholic principles and disciplinary practices so as to permeate all the phases of the youngsters' lives. And they love it. Today's children will be tomorrow's mothers and fathers, and the leaders responsible for the future of the world and their own eternal destiny. Our parochial-school program is planned to make of them "the best possible citizens of this world and the next."

---

(Father John F. Henry is assistant pastor of Gesu Parish, Detroit, Michigan).



## Quebec letter

In recent times, news from Canada seems to have been concerned mostly with a long and bitter strike of asbestos miners and the unprecedented triumph of Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent's Liberal party. For quite some time the man in the street and the newspapers here in French Canada had little else to talk about.

The spirit of a nation, like the individual soul, lies deeper than contemporary social and political issues, and is less easily understood. It is manifested in thousands of details which must first be comprehended individually and then fitted together for a vision of the whole.

Few of these factors are as representative of the French-speaking part of Canada as the magnificent and ever-growing collection of Marius Barbeau, one of the world's leading folklore experts. Thousands upon thousands of songs, legends and other texts have been recorded in all parts of Quebec each year since the collection was started, and there is no indication that the sources are running dry.

Quite naturally, the people who have treasured their beautiful and often highly artistic folksongs through the centuries will tend to excel in more classical forms of music also. According to a contemporary French authority, liturgical music is very rarely found in so pure a form as it may be heard in the least of Montreal's more than a hundred Catholic churches. It is extremely significant that when this year the traditional Concerts Symphoniques—given weekly at the Chalet on the summit of Mont Royal (well known to summer tourists)—found their survival threatened, their continuance was assured by what must almost be called a surge of popular feeling. Significant, too, is the first really French-Canadian symphony of Papineau Couture.

French-language publications, especially since the war, have been of every sort imaginable. But the French-Canadian novel in particular seems to have taken a new lease on life, with Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'Occasion* (*The Tin Flute* in the United States) and Félix-Antoine Savard's *La Minuit* marking the start of a new era.

However, it is undoubtedly in its dramatic manifestations that the spirit of French Canada's culture has made its greatest advances. The Compagnons de Saint-Laurent are well known to AMERICA readers of the past, and probably to all who have visited Quebec. This year their plays have been widely varied, ranging from a French version of *The Glass Menagerie* to Aristophanes, from Shakespeare to modern French creations. And all theatre-lovers were surprised and overjoyed to hear the parting words of the English actor and author, Robert Speaight, when he announced on leaving Canada that he would be back in 1950 to play Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* in French with the Compagnons.

From every point of view, however, by far the most important event has been Gratien Gélinas' *Ti-Coq*. The play itself is simple in plot and expression. Precisely for that reason, and because it is the story of some very ordinary people, it will be, if it lives, a landmark in the world's dramatic history. Because it is so typically French

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Canadian, it is hard to imagine a translation, and even in France it might not be entirely understood. But its theme is universal, and its story is for all the western world.

Ti-Coq (he has no other name, and it is untranslatable), played by Gélinas himself, is a soldier in the recent war. He is a laughable, lovable character, a cocky little fighter, as the name suggests, and he is tremendously alone. Therein lies all the action of the play. Ti-Coq is the child of unknown and unmarried parents, and you can know what that means only if you know all that the beautiful word "*famille*" means to French-Canadians.

One cannot express the poignancy of Ti-Coq's first Christmas with a family, that of his soldier-friend Jean-

Paul. Before that he had known only the orphanage—and he is a man bitterly conscious of the implications of "charity" for its own sake—the billiard saloon and the army camp. Jean-Paul has a sister, Marie-Ange. She and Ti-Coq fall in love, and he goes overseas feeling that at last he is like other men, that he is loved, not out of

"charity"; that he will come back to found a home and have a family and hold his head high.

While he is in England, Marie-Ange's parents, and especially the world-bitten cousin she lodges with, tell her she is crazy to wait—for an unknown bastard. She seems very young and helpless in the face of these blows to her faith in Ti-Coq; and an unfortunate letter from him, written in doubt and discouragement, seems to give her her liberty. A soured Tante Clara, who waited in the first war, my dear, and is still waiting, beats down her last defenses. She marries the other man, whom she does not love.

Ti-Coq learns of the marriage in England. He is broken; descends to a pitiful level of despair, brutally suggested in the English pub scene with a drunken street-walker. Only the Padre, who is an important factor from the start, saves him.

Back in Canada after the war, Ti-Coq stormily insists on seeing Marie-Ange. The girl breaks down, admits she still loves only him, and they agree to go off together. At this point the Padre arrives, learns what they plan to do,





and begins to talk to them, very quietly. He finishes by telling Ti-Coq that he can take Marie-Ange, of course—but that he knows what his children will be.

It is tremendously bitter and hard, this scene. The thought that he will bring children into the world as he was brought into it, with the indelible stamp of illegitimacy forever on them, is too much for Ti-Coq. He gives up the only person he has loved and who has really loved him. But, like the Greek tragedies, the play finishes on a note of hope, as the Padre tells Ti-Coq that at least he has acted as a man must act, and that he must begin his life over again.

A summary sketch of this sort is pitifully unfair to a play so profound and so packed with dramatic tension. It ran almost a year in Montreal, and could have gone on much longer, but Gélinas decided to take it to the capital. It is to be hoped that he will take it to New York and London—even untranslated—and to Paris.

BERNARD O'KELLY

## Dublin letter

Since my last letter was written, some stirring events have taken place in Ireland. Last year, by the repeal of the External Relations Act, the way was cleared for the declaration of our complete independence of Great Britain and our secession from the British Empire or Commonwealth. It was not until midnight on April 24 of this year, however, that the Republic was formally proclaimed, in front of the General Post Office, where the men of 1916 had proclaimed the Republic on April 18 of that year.

The proclamation took place with elaborate ceremonial and the firing of guns, in presence of a great assembly of the people. Throughout the country there were processions and ceremonies. Speakers vied with one another in declaring that this act of ours would lead to closer and more friendly relations not only with other countries but with Great Britain. In fact, messages of congratulation came from the King and Prime Minister of Great Britain. They came also from His Holiness Pope Pius XII and from all the European states outside the Iron Curtain, from Australia, Canada, India, South Africa, and from President Truman. The sun shone bright and all was as merry as a wedding bell.

It was not long till the sky clouded over once more and the bells tolled a very different note. That note sounded as the British Government passed through the House of Commons a bill pledging support to the Six Counties—our *Hibernia Irredenta*—for the maintenance of Partition until the Belfast Government should choose to end it. In Ireland there was a sudden revulsion of feeling. A wave of dismay and indignation swept through the country. All the political parties drew together. A united Mansion House Committee was formed and a great protest meeting was staged, whereat from a platform beneath the statue of Parnell the leaders of all the parties spoke. The question now seems to be: what will happen next?

This action of the British Government, which to the

vast majority of the people here seems so gratuitous and uncalled for, is the more regrettable because of the several friendly gestures made recently to Ireland, one of them in the bill itself. There was the gesture of sending to Ireland, as British Representative, Sir Gilbert Laithwaite (formerly private Secretary to the Viceroy of India), a Catholic born near Dublin and educated at the Jesuit college of Clongoweswood. Another gesture was the decision that Irishmen living in England shall not be treated as foreigners but shall enjoy the privileges of British citizenship.

In between the two great mass meetings there was a still greater one, on Sunday, May 1, when a multitude estimated at 150,000 gathered to register a protest against the persecution of the Church in Eastern Europe and, in particular, against the treatment of Archbishop Stepinac and Cardinal Mindszenty. The demonstration was remarkable for this, among other things: speakers included many leaders in the labor world. There were no priests on the platform, as the laity had determined to make this protest all their own.

It may possibly be a sign of our more definitely international status that in the past few months we have had so many distinguished foreign visitors. The novelists Graham Greene and Bruce Marshall were here for the first time, the latter to lecture on the Catholic novel. The Rt. Hon. H. V. Evatt, Deputy Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, came to receive an honorary degree from the National University. Pandit Nehru came to greet the Irish Government and to meet the Indian colony here. Sir Harold Butler, K.C.M.G., former Director of the International Labor Office, Geneva, lectured on "Europe and America." We have had a visit from General J. Lawton Collins, Vice Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army. M. André Siegfried, Member of the French Academy and author of many books, notably one on America, lectured in French to a large audience on "*La Contribution de la France à la Civilisation de l'Occident*." M. Dedeyan of the University of Lyons also came to Dublin to give a series of lectures.

This reminds me that of late there has been quite an efflorescence of French societies in Dublin. The long-established Dublin French Society continues throughout the year a series of lectures in French. I recently attended a meeting of the Société Française of University College (there is a similar society in Trinity College) at which there was a lecture in French on General Humbert's expedition to Ireland in 1798, followed by a very lively debate, also in French. But I think the most active of the French societies is the France-Ireland Club founded by a M. Boissenot a year ago. There the members, mostly young people, meet several times a week for lessons, *causeries*, *soirées dansantes*, music, etc. The tone is Catholic, and there have been lectures on Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, on Lourdes and on the Parables, always in French. Now there is question of still another association, the object of which, besides the promotion of friendly cultural relations, will be the promotion of vocations among Irish students and priests for work in France. That is surely a noble aim.

STEPHEN J. BROWN.

## Miniature of the War

### DAY WITHOUT END

By Van Van Praag. Sloane. 26p. \$3

Five years after the reality on which it is based, this novel recaptures and reproduces the horror and fury of the hedgerow fighting in Normandy; indeed, it recreates it with an intensity of effect that is almost aural as well as visual. This reviewer would place it among the very few books based on experiences in World War II that deserve more than passing mention. As a first novel, it ranks high, and can be compared only to Alexander Baron's *From the City, From the Plough*, which is a superior piece of work.

*Day Without End* takes the depleted first platoon of B Company of an unidentified Infantry Division through a brief period of the seemingly interminable days of fighting from the Channel beachheads up to Saint Lo. In fact, the time encompassed by the action of this novel is hardly more than one furious day, after fifty-eight unrelieved days of continuous fighting. Its soldiers are fatigued to the point of desperation. Their physical strength almost completely drained, they continue fighting, making reconnaissance patrols, attacking with dwindled numbers half mechanically, half by sheer force of will.

Into the double handful of men who are left of the First Platoon, Van Van Praag has concentrated the fears and frenzies, the moral courage and animal reactions of millions of fighting men. They are differentiated in background, in physique, in aspirations, in intellectual and moral perception, almost as prototypes. But they are more than merely types of infantrymen. Lieutenant Paul Roth, the platoon leader, is the central figure: a man who is admired by his men as a leader because he not only takes all they have to take, leads the way in all difficult circumstances, but has an interest and an affection for the men he commands, of whom he feels he is one. He and his platoon have the feeling that they have been singled out for all the Battalion patrols, certainly the more dangerous ones; and when they are at the end of their resources, praying for relief and rest, they are still asked to bear the brunt because they are the most experienced. If there be any plot, save that of telling the collective story of men in battle, it is that of the final steps that led to Roth's physical collapse in battle exhaustion, and his feeling that he had betrayed himself before the few of his men who survived the desperate attack on a hill still miles from Saint Lo.

The excellence of the book lies in its portrayal of the terror and inhuman horror of modern land warfare, where

men are usually not killed cleanly with a neat bullet hole, but torn asunder, mutilated, smashed into bleeding pulp by concentrated mortar and artillery fire, overhead bombing, personnel mines, grenades. It lies, too, in the implicit tribute to the men who remained defiantly human in the face of, and in the acting of so much and such deep, depraved inhumanity. For all its forthright realistic language—which is none the less reproduced with an admirable restraint—what gleams unmistakably beneath the weeks'-old beards, the mud and sweat, is that communion in suffering, that unaccountable fellow-feeling so close to pity and to love, which more than all else helped the soldier to endure.

Only one who had lived through the concentrated fury of the Normandy fighting could have written of it as accurately and honestly, as vividly as has Mr. Van Praag. And only after five years, when it might be possible to recollect without renewed anguish, could this story have been written. A novel such as this should be classified as history; for no history of the war has told graphically what fighting is in reality, what the strategy and plans mean in terms of fighting men. R. F. GRADY

## Panorama of the War

### AN ARMY IN EXILE

By Lt. Gen. Wladyslaw Anders. Macmillan. 335p. \$5

Before throwing General Anders into a cell of the Lubianka prison in Moscow, the Soviet guards subjected him to a last thorough search. They found on him a small medal of the Blessed Virgin. Shouting "let us see if this harlot can help you in a Soviet prison," the guards threw the medal on the ground and stamped on it.

Almost two years elapsed between Anders' imprisonment in September, 1939, and his release. On August 4, 1941 the General was set free and entrusted with the task of organizing a Polish Army on Soviet soil. On the basis of the Sikorski-Stalin agreement of July, 1941, about 100,000 Poles were freed from Soviet forced-labor camps and prisons, barely eight per cent of the mass of people taken to Russia from eastern Poland during the Hitler-Stalin honeymoon.

Anders' survival was little short of a miracle. Severely wounded, deprived of medical care, without warm clothing, living for weeks and months on a near-starvation diet, his body frost-bitten and covered with sores, he did not succumb. The more the conditions deteriorated, "the deeper grew my religious belief," he says. Poles never lose faith in the "Queen of the Polish

## BOOKS

Crown," and she never fails to help them, even in Soviet prisons.

Lubianka is an aristocrat among Soviet prisons, reserved for people of special value to the NKVD. Anna Louise Strong was pleasantly surprised by the living conditions in Lubianka, but she did not have any comparative criterion. Anders knew other Soviet places of detention from his own experience and from the testimony of his soldiers. When released Polish prisoners began to arrive in Buzuluk, the first training center of the Polish Army in Russia, they brought with them stories of unbelievable horror. One chapter of Anders' book—"Kolyma Means Death"—deals with conditions in the gold mines situated in eastern Siberia, between the Arctic Ocean and the Sea of Okhotsk. Of the ten thousand Poles deported to Kolyma, 583 could be found and set free after the Sikorski-Stalin agreement, but only a few reached Buzuluk.

*An Army in Exile* is the epic story of the Second Polish Army Corps—a corps recruited from military and political prisoners who reached the Polish training centers from distant camps of European and Asiatic Russia. Looking like skeletons, clad in rags, sick and exhausted, the men finally emerged into a military unit of which Viscount Alexander said: "If it had been given to me to choose the soldiers I would like to command, I would have chosen the Poles."

However, while the Poles were marching from victory to victory in Italy, their political fortunes took a reverse course. From the record which Anders preserved of his conferences—first with highest Soviet officials, including Stalin; then with Churchill and other Allied political and military leaders—there emerges the tragedy of Poland, the country which the Western Powers, faced with the hypocrisy, blackmail tactics and lust for conquest of Stalin and his henchmen, abandoned step by step in spite of their sincere friendship, promises and good intentions. On August 26, 1944, Churchill assured Anders several times that Great Britain would never desert or abandon Poland. After Yalta, on February 21, 1945, when Anders asked for the withdrawal of his corps from the front, in view of the feeling of hopelessness and despair which spread among his soldiers, Churchill told him: "You can take away your divisions. We shall do without them." But when General McCreery, the commander of the

British Eighth Army, told him that there were no reserves to replace the Second Corps, Anders did not withdraw his troops and went on fighting.

General Anders also recalls a number of now almost-forgotten incidents which manifested to the Poles the true aims of Soviet Russia, long before the eyes of the Western World were opened to the strategy and tactics of the Soviet leaders. The Katyn Forest massacre, the story of the Warsaw uprising, the betrayal of the underground Home Army, the arrest and trial of the sixteen underground leaders—all these incidents, now properly told and documented, show the Western Powers their adversary in the cold war in brutal and ruthless colors. Anders' book is an important contribution to our understanding of Soviet Russia. It should be read by everyone who looks for enlightenment as to the methods and aims of Soviet policy.

The translation from Polish preserves the terse style of a military narrative. ADAM K. NIEBIESZCZANSKI

## Adjustment in Ceylon

### ELEPHANT WALK

By Robert Standish. Macmillan. 278p. \$3.

With elements of suspense, good characterization and an engrossing plot, *Elephant Walk* has everything. A corking good story, it is somewhat reminiscent of *Rebecca* in one aspect—that of the dominating personality of Tom Carey, creator of the teakwood extravaganza known as the Big Bungalow. Although he is dead nearly a decade, Carey's presence continues to be felt in the devotion of his son George, now master of the estate, in the adherence to tradition-bound custom, and in the behavior of the faithful old major-domo, Appuhamy.

The novel's locale is a tea-growing plantation in Ceylon, started in the 1860's by Tom Carey, a young Englishman, whose bride of a year, dying in England in childbirth, never saw the fabulous palace he built for her and their son. It is a cross-section from the life of this son, now grown in 1913 to forty-four, which constitutes the narrative.

The eligible bachelor, George Carey, on a brief visit to his native England, surprises his bachelor neighbors by returning home with a wholesomely charming bride some years his junior. The presence of Ruth disconcerts in a variety of ways the already well-established set-up in Ceylon. She is perhaps the most disconcerted of all, however, in the very real necessity of adjusting to an entirely new and fairly meaningless existence.

The plush elegance of life in the famous teakwood mansion is in itself burdensome, and it is only after several soul-searing experiences that Ruth finds peace and contentment in the promise of a new life with her husband and son. Even the sordid elements of this story are handled without the lurid detail characteristic of most contemporary writing. The hopeful note at the end is a felicitous means of pointing out the triumph of good over evil in the human soul.

Another aspect of the book which is completely fascinating is the undercurrent of conflict between Man and Elephant. A sustaining interest is thus introduced and maintained with heightened crescendo to the smashing climax coincident with the surprise ending.

CATHERINE D. GAUSE

### DOCTORS OF INFAMY; The Story of the Nazi Medical Crimes

By Alexander Mitscherlich, M.D. and Fred Mielke. Schuman. 165p. \$3

Here is the sordid story of the atrocities, committed in the name of science, by a group of Nazi doctors against helpless human beings. This unpleasant story of professional men who forgot their mis-

sions and violated their oaths is not new, for it was aired thoroughly in the public press at the time of their trials. Twenty-three physicians were tried, twenty-two men and one woman. Of this number seven were hanged, nine received sentences of varying lengths and seven were acquitted and freed.

The book describes and documents, usually by quotations from material employed at the trial, how experiments were performed on people usually designated as criminals but whose only crime consisted in belonging to a prescribed race or creed or in holding political beliefs at variance with Nazi philosophy. It is difficult to remain dispassionate and factual in reviewing these records of man's inhumanity to man, but inasmuch as more than half the number tried were convicted and now stand before the world as "Doctors of Infamy," nothing said here will add to or subtract from their shame.

The work in question is not divided into chapters but rather into descriptions of the various experiments. Among other things there are descriptions of "High Altitude Research," "Experiments with Cold," "Typhus Research among Prisoners," and details of the collection of the skulls of Jews. There were experiments in mass sterilization, in the extermination of racial groups.

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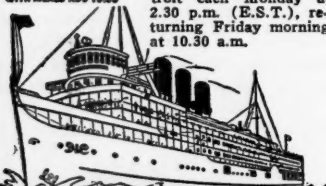
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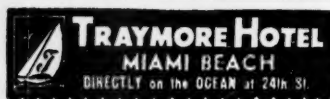
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C. P. Segard, Jr.

Each experiment seems to have been more diabolically conceived than the last one. Over and above the cruelty of it all, not one bit of useful scientific information was gleaned from any of the experiments.

We read the correspondence which passed between these men whose whole orientation had been to save life, and we find that they forgot their heritage as they jockeyed for power. They fawned on Himmler and other nazi big-wigs, seeking approval, protection and intercession to aid in their nefarious schemes. Though we know little about their previous lives or the influences which warped them, when they appear in this book they are gallows-birds and nothing can be said in extenuation of their conduct.

The book should be required reading for medical students, for it shows what can happen to medical men who lose or are shaken loose from their moorings and seek short cuts to fame by devious routes. It is an eloquent sermon which cries out for the separation of the healing arts from any influence which might induce a physician to forget the nobility of his vocation for personal gain or real or fancied prestige. This reviewer, in the name of his colleagues, blushes for a group of medical men whose inordinate and unprincipled efforts to curry favor and become famous led only to their names being recorded in history as infamous.

F. J. BRACELAND

### From the Editor's shelf

PATTERNS OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT, by David Spitz (Macmillan. \$4.50). Reviewer Ralph E. Lombardi finds that the author of this analysis and criticism of the leading attacks on democracy bases his defense of the democratic way on this premise: "Freedom is the province of all men, not simply the prerogative of a chosen few." Though brave in his attempt, the author seems to see no need to prove the premise. The influence of Columbia's noted political and social theorist, Robert M. MacIver, is evident throughout the book.

THE COMPLETE STORIES OF HERMAN MELVILLE, edited by Jay Layda (Random House. \$4). If you think Melville was a one-book man, this collection will change your view. Reviewer Riley Hughes found all the fifteen stories absorbing. One of them, "The Happy Failure," he writes, might even appear in today's *New Yorker*.

BURNT-OUT INCENSE, by Rev. M. Raymond, O. C. S. O. (Kenedy. \$3.50). Though the title promises an appraisal of the spirit of men who die to the world in an heroic effort to live for God, the story does not live up to it.

It is that of the five men who built and conserved the Trappist abbey at Gethsemane, Kentucky, and is so involved in the material development of a monastic institution that the factual writing is not at all informative of the inner spirit, and the characters of the five leaders are so misted as not to emerge in full human dimensions.

## THE WORD

"And He was teaching daily in the temple . . ."

Letter to a convert, my godson:

DEAR BILL, He is still teaching daily in the temple.

You will understand this better and better as you continue to be faithful—as I am sure you will—to God, whose child you are, and to the Son of God who awaits you each day, all day, in the tabernacle.

I am sending you, as a baptism anniversary gift, a daily missal, divided into four parts so that it won't pull your pockets all crooked. I call this book the University of God, because that is what it is.

I can assure you that if you use it daily, or even frequently, extraordinary things will happen to you—to your mind, to your heart, to your soul, to your character, to your personality.

All these will be transformed: first by the grace of God, flowing in a silent, invisible and undetectable deluge through the Mass and Holy Communion; second, by the knowledge and education and wisdom which you will get from the missal.

It would not do to call it magic, because it isn't; but it will seem like magic to you, if you go to Mass and Communion daily, and use your missal. You will discover suddenly, after a few years of this, that you are extraordinarily well informed in all the things that are really important; and you will also awake to a shocked realization of the fact that you have become rather wise.

You will become aware, in other words, that you have obtained a degree—let us say a bachelor's—from God's University.

And if you are the man I take you for, you will want to go on and take your master's degree, and then your doctor's, and then whatever comes afterward, on and on until the day when you are summoned by death—Professor Death, shall we say?—to the final examination.

And I do mean final.

You will be astonished, I assure you,



at the ease and facility with which you will pass it. Your amazement will be due to your humility; but after all you ought to realize that examinations have no terrors for those who have spent a reasonable part of a lifetime in preparing for them.

So there you are. It's up to you. Here are the books; or rather the book, in four parts. You can matriculate, if your care to, in the University of God this very day. I suppose you will think I am preaching a sermon; and I suppose you are right. But after all a sermon, if it is a good one, is mainly a statement of indispensable facts. I wouldn't be much of a godfather if I didn't lay them before you.

JOSEPH A. BREIG

## THEATRE

**MISS LIBERTY.** Robert E. Sherwood—although I am not included among his ardent admirers—is an important personage of the American stage. One might reasonably expect that when he assumed the task of supplying a plot for a musical play he would achieve something more substantial than a boy-meets-girl story. His story, however, is emotionally shallow and its appeal to one's intelligence is practically nil, while the humor, usually sufficient in musical comedies to cover a multitude of theatrical sins, is too anemic to perform that function. Nevertheless, by grace of Irving Berlin's ingratiating music and Moss Hart's precision direction, the production at The Imperial is a gorgeous show.

Several expert performances—Ethel Griffies, a sophisticated hag, topping the cast, with Mary McCarty and Allyn McLerie in a photo-finish for second honors—make the characters more interesting and amusing than the author created them. Jerome Robbins has invented some delightful dances for the production, while Oliver Smith's settings, if not distinguished, are at least adequate. The costumes, by Motley, are as garishly gay as a circus horse. Irving Berlin, Moss Hart and Mr. Sherwood are the producers. With so many talented craftsmen combining their skills, it is no marvel that the production, while lacking distinction, is sufficiently tuneful and colorful to make its success as a popular hit a practical certainty.

The story, which has an air of nostalgia reminiscent of *Up in Central Park*, proceeds from the rivalry of two newspaper magnates of the 1880's to a

romantically happy ending that is too trite to appeal to an adult mind. Mr. Sherwood has created one vivid character, however, and has written some impish and worldly-wise lines for the part. Ethel Griffies, probably with more leers than necessary, translates the role into the most delectable crone I have ever encountered. Her artistry, without apologies to Keats, can be described as a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

Moss Hart's skillful direction, while apparently unhurried, keeps the action fast enough to prevent an uninteresting story from becoming boring. Next to Miss Griffies, he makes the most important contribution toward turning *Miss Liberty* into an enjoyable show. If Irving Berlin ever wrote an inept or unmelodious song, I have never heard it; but he is not at his best in this production. Mary McCarty, rapidly rising toward stardom, and Allyn McLerie, ditto, are sparkling in their assignments—the former as soloist and the latter as ballerina. Philip Bourneuf is a dignified Joseph Pulitzer, and Charles Dingle is a pompous James Gordon Bennett. Eddie Albert is as amusing as the script permits.

While *Miss Liberty* is neither emotionally provocative nor spiritually stimulating, the show is not without sensuous beauty. Irving Berlin's songs, less tuneful than the lyrics sung in *Annie Get Your Gun*, will eventually make *The Hit Parade*. The dancing is spirited and at times furious. What more is needed to provide an evening of entertainment?

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## FILMS

**THE GIRL FROM JONES BEACH** proceeds on the sound principle that the inanities of radio in general, and radio advertising in particular, are always good for a laugh. Aside from this, its notion of humor is elementary and pretty distasteful. The film describes the travails of an illustrator (Ronald Reagan) who specializes in bathing beauties and of a feckless publicist (Eddie Bracken) who specializes in threatening to throw himself under a subway train, in quest of a television contract which depends on finding a beauty resembling the artist's composite cover-girl portrait. The girl finally appears in the person of a school teacher (Virginia Mayo) who unfortunately wants to be admired for her intellectual endowments. Before she is persuaded to change her mind, a little bit of

everything—including a particularly ill-chosen defense of a teacher's right to her private life—has been thrown into the plot. The chief result is a clear-cut demonstration of how little effort and imagination are required to make suggestive a picture with a bathing-suit theme. (*Warner Brothers*)

**THE SCENE OF THE CRIME** apparently started out to be MGM's answer to *The Naked City*. Using the streets of Los Angeles as its sets, the picture presents the homicide squad with its modern, scientific methods getting down to the work of solving the murder of a fellow cop. The factual approach, however, gives way, by popular demand, to a little glamour. It seems that the detective in charge (Van Johnson) has a beautiful wife (Arlene Dahl) who is trying to coax him away from duty and bullets into a lucrative job in private industry. Also in the line of duty he is forced to make himself very attractive to a night-club queen (Gloria de Haven) who is a suspect and doesn't know that he is a detective. In spite of these distaff distractions he manages to plow through the requisite number of unwholesome and self-consciously colorful roles and gets his man. The script relies more heavily on imagination than on extant police files, but may appeal to adults who like pretty girls with their murder mysteries.



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**THE MIGHTY JOE YOUNG.** If you saw *King Kong* some years ago and survived, you may, just for old times' sake, want to see Ernest Schoedsack's and Merian Cooper's new but very reminiscent fable about a twenty-five-foot gorilla. Brought to you through the courtesy of trick photography, which custom has made considerably less awe-inspiring than formerly, Mr. Joseph Young, the giant simian, has a somewhat gentler nature than his illustrious predecessor. As the star attraction of a Hollywood night club he is cruelly exploited; in return he visits his wrath on the vulgar, the jaded and the mercenary. Towards children, however, and towards the pure in heart—Terry Moore, his owner and Ben Johnson, a young cowboy full of earthy wisdom—he has nothing but the kindest feeling. In fact, having been condemned for making a shambles of the scene of his nightly appearance, he heroically rescues some youngsters from an orphanage fire. This earns him a reprieve and a ticket back to the peace of his native Africa. The climactic conflagration is photographed on red-tinted stock which should give you some idea of the degree of subtlety the film achieves. Tough-minded kids will like it. (RKO)

**NOT WANTED.** In the trade the term "exploitation picture" refers to a film whose chief box-office lure is its sensational but vaguely sociological subject matter. It generally means also that the subject is personalized through the crassest of melodramatic contrivances and with the technical and artistic crudity which is the trademark of low-budget production. Made independently by Ida Lupino (who doesn't appear) for a reputed \$150,000, *Not Wanted*, the story of a young, unwed mother, is a tasteful exception to the rule. Though frankly melodramatic and of dubious value as a social document, it manages within its small framework to fashion generally believable characters and situations and to avoid the offensiveness, sentimentality and moral confusion which usually creep into such projects. (Film Classics)

MOIRA WALSH

## PARADE

**THE WEEK'S NEWS HAD A NIGHTMARISH FLAVOR . . .** Many of the events seemed like things one meets in dreams; the things that go away when one wakes up in the morning. . . . The fantastic trend started in at the very beginning of the week . . . In Wayland, N. Y., a surgeon was beaten up by a

patient coming out of ether . . . In Illinois a brother sued his sister for shooting him . . . Family life seemed right out of nightmares . . . In Brooklyn, as a young married couple walked across a bridge, they started an argument. Maddened by his wife's argumentation, the young husband jumped into the river. After fishing him out, police revealed the river water had had a cooling influence on the young spouse . . . Over widely separated areas, the stuff that dreams are made of filtered into events . . . In Austin, Tex., as a driver backed a truckload of trash into the city dump, a bystander began motioning and directing him. Each time the driver stopped, the bystander beckoned him to back up some more. Recalling a deep drop at the edge of the dump, the driver finally stepped out of the truck, discovered that only a few inches separated his rear wheels from a sixty-foot drop. "What's the matter? Are you crazy?" he queried of the bystander. "I guess so," replied the latter. "I'm a patient at the State hospital." . . . During the week, humans seemed able to fall from heights without unfortunate effects . . . In Chicago, doctors characterized a fifteen-month-old tot as a bouncing baby after she had plunged five stories from a porch to a dirt alley and escaped injury . . . In the business world, the *caveat emptor* philosophy was carried to excessive lengths by extremists . . . In Doncaster, England, when a lady customer accused a dealer of short-changing her, he slapped her face with a wet fish . . . Hold-ups, with Alice-in-Wonderland overtones, were reported . . . In Detroit, a thief walked up to the ticket booth of a theatre, snarled at the lady cashier: "Hand over the money." She inquired: "You got a gun?" "Yes," replied the thief, "but I'm not showing it." "No gun, no money," declared the cashier, pushing an alarm button. Frustrated, the thief slunk off . . . As the week rolled on, events continued giving off an unreal flavor . . . In Spokane, a man broke into what he thought was a tavern. It was military police headquarters . . . In Mobile, Ala., an ex-wife, glancing over the divorce decree she had just won, read that custody of her ex-husband had been awarded to her.

In addition to the dreams people want to forget are others they like to remember . . . Among these latter is the greatest of all dreams, one that is being dreamed ceaselessly by all human beings . . . In every human heart is an overpowering thirst for happiness, for perfect happiness, for happiness that will last forever . . . For those who now serve God here below, this dream will one day actually come true.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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